

THE CHINA  
WEEKLY

# REVIEW

報論評氏勒密

A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

May 7, 1949

## LOSING THE PEACE

AN EDITORIAL

## The Press In Communist China

Andrew Roth

## Letter From Paris

Jacques Decaux

## Japan And The Chinese Communists

William Costello

## CENSORSHIP PROBLEM

AN EDITORIAL



# 力得固

袖領膠橡

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# LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

## New Zealand Reader

To The Editor:

The arrival of your *Review* has always been looked forward to. Without it, the Communist victory in China would have seemed irrational, as the National Party there has always been justified in the press here as the victor. The treatment of the students by the Nationalists was read with a reluctance to believe that such could come out of the part of China backed by the USA. Maybe in the past years we have been fed too much on the romantic side of that ancient race.

The long spell of Civil War in China seems to be coming to an end with the Communist type of government ruling, with which the USA, due to its support of the opposite party, will not be in favor. How will this leave relations between the USA, Japan, China and the USSR? Will not Japan have to resort to violent expansion in the next few years due to her population question? The possession of Hongkong will no doubt not be questioned by the Communists till, in the control of a foreign power, it is not useful to them.

The relations of Tibet and inland China to the Communists will be interesting, remembering that Tibet is near nowadays due to air traffic. The mineral possibilities of the area will be likely to be wanted by more than one foreign power.

I look forward to seeing the people in China one day becoming a most influential factor in this world. With their resources of population and land, allied to their ideals of peace, they may make a useful addition to civilization. Or will it be that, learning the western sciences, they will be seized with that superior war complex that has in the past gripped the Christian peoples?

It must be of satisfaction to you to now find that your *Review* has not stood in the way of progress in China.

May I in conclusion suggest that a stronger wrapping paper would probably save the *Review* arriving here with split wrappers. Evidently in the overseas mails it gets rough handling.

M. G. E.

Taumarunui, New Zealand  
March 14, 1949

## Reformation?

To The Editor:

After reading the article "Christian Missions in China" (*Review*, April 2, 1949) I feel bound to express myself candidly for the highest good of the Christian religion and the Christian missions in China. I know definitely that the Christian missions in China have entirely forgotten the lessons of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 and the KMT revolution in 1927, both of which earmarked them as the fore-runners of imperialism.

In my letter of February 19, I unsparingly castigated the ponderously ignorant views on Communism and on the conditions in China of two oldtime missionaries, Dr. Edward H. Hume and Rev. Thomas O'Melia, and predicted the eventual downfall of the Christian Missions in China. China missionary Walter Judd and China-born, son of missionaries,

## THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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Henry Luce have been so imperialistically foolish as to wish their government to initiate a Pacific Security Pact similar to the Atlantic Security Pact as a defense against Communism.

The anonymous writer of "Christian Missions in China," being a thorough-bred Christian who knows the ins and outs of the same, pointed out the present Christian missions' ignorance of the trend of events in China, their failure to see its historical perspective, and their complacent satisfaction with the existing order.

The Christian missions in China will either be uprooted by the coming new regime or another Martin Luther reformation will be started for the separation of religion from the state.

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Chengtu  
April 9, 1949

## Trade With Troops

To The Editor:

## Against War

To The Editor:

International peace is threatened by the signing of the Atlantic Pact. Many people understand that the coming war will serve only the interests of capitalists who want to hold on to what they have. As a result of the Pact, tensions between the various major powers have increased. Why is it not possible to solve international differences peacefully? War is a set-back to civilization. It is all the more deplorable because in some ways, in general kindness and thoughtfulness, human beings are becoming more civilized. Everything which makes life worth living is sacrificed through war. The world needs peace, permanent peace.

CHU TSUI.

Canton  
April 20, 1949

## Elder Brother

To The Editor:

King-heu, my elder brother, will soon be graduated from the Kiang King district senior middle school. He has a fair knowledge of English, and he writes me that he would like an introduction to an American pen-friend, and has asked me to forward his wish to you.

He has a high place in my family of 12 and has never been impatient with us younger brothers and sisters. He is praised not only by his relatives but also by others. He plans to attend a university after his graduation.

PETER HO.

S. F.

Chungking  
April 12, 1949

Siangtan, Hunan  
April 4, 1949

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## Beggar's Tale

To The Editor:

Being fond of rambling through the main streets of the town after supper, I often see at Kuan Tsien Road a ragged beggar kneeling on the pavement and begging for alms.

He is a middle aged fellow, dressed in a patched green-colored military uniform. On the ground near him is spread a sheet of paper on which with a good handwriting is written:

"I, Wang Lung, am 41 years of age, a native of Hwa Hsien in Honan Province and a graduate of the Provincial Normal School. Ten years ago, I enlisted in the 53rd Army in Cheng Chow. I have participated in 17 hard, yet glorious battles, and killed numerous enemies. Since 1941, I have been a first lieutenant in my army corps. In the decisive battle of Pengpu last winter in which the whole Nationalist army there was annihilated, I was seriously wounded in the leg and captured by the Reds, who sent me to North Kiangsu, where I received medical care. Three months later, I recovered, though with a bad leg, and was allowed to return to the Nationalist area. First I went to Nanking, then to Wusi and Soochow, but found no work. Homeless and penniless, I am now compelled to beg."

HSU SHIH CHEN.

Soochow

April 16, 1949

## Chungking Teachers

To The Editor:

Thanks for publishing the news about our teachers' strike in your March 26th issue.

Now, let me tell you how great a humbug the Chief of the Chungking Local

Education Bureau is. Every time the local teachers petitioned him to be paid, he always promised them that they would receive their March and April salaries before April 10. But his words proved false and nothing has been done for the teachers, though the appointed time is already passed. So the teachers determined to strike again without delay and consequently our school has been brought to a standstill.

It is very irritating for us students to waste our time, which is supposed to be for studies; furthermore our poor teachers are worthy of the utmost sympathy.

COGENT CHOW.

Chungking

April 10, 1949

## Economic Victims

To The Editor:

On my way home from the office, I saw two policemen on Szechuan Road (Central), near Hankow Road, arrest two "Yellow Oxen" who were buying and selling silver dollars. After a discussion with the two cops, however, the peddlers were left alone. I think that during this short time some of the peddlers' dollars must have passed into the cops pockets.

With the GY continually devaluating, it is no wonder that people should buy silver dollars and that the starving unemployed should turn Silver Dollar sellers to earn a little money, so as to save themselves from starvation. Was it, then, legal for the cops to arrest these two poor victims of the present Chinese economic bankruptcy?

WONG SZE-LIANG.

Shanghai

April 22, 1949.

## Yoyang Tragedy

To The Editor:

P. T. J.

Hengshan, Hunan

April 17, 1949



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## No Alms

To The Editor:

In these chaotic days, I often console myself with the thought that this is merely a man's world. Since no man is perfect, no system of government can be expected to be perfect.

Democracy, in its real sense, should be the best idealistic form of government that we can hope for. But when democracy and freedom have developed to a certain state, some individuals may be tempted to strengthen their grasp on politics, thus controlling the masses for their own benefit. This is especially clear in the case of China. Misusing their power, some of the bureaucratic capitalists not only control the Government, but even the economic life of the country. For, by dumping their gold on the market, they can easily raise or lower the price of every commodity.

One fact calling for a quick social change in China today is that under present conditions, the rich who have money to hoard goods become richer and the poor, poorer. Consequently, we need a ruling class with a clear understanding of "reconstruction" and a high ideal of mankind's brotherhood.

Since men cannot wisely control their mad desire for power, there must be inaugurated a new governmental system. A purely democratic government, to guard itself against its own danger, as stated above, must impose certain regulations, restricting private capital and free enter-

prises to a certain extent, while at the same time enhancing the power of the Government by collective enterprises.

The suggestion of Mr. Wallace to make China a testing ground for a program of "abundance for all peoples" through the cooperation of the USA and USSR, though it was perhaps suggested with good intention, is both impractical and detrimental to the prestige of China. With things coming to such a phase as we are now experiencing, I sincerely hope that our leaders will cooperate and build up a pattern of true democratic government that can be copied by the other nations. Instead of receiving alms, we should then lead the world to light, truth and abundance.

CHANG WEI-LUNG.

Chang-teh, Hunan.  
April 18, 1949

## Advice To Die-hards

To The Editor:

Our school newspaper reported on April 19 that the Communists had demanded that the future coalition government's ministries of National Defense, Foreign Affairs and Internal Affairs be controlled by them.

To discuss this Communist proposal, on which depended the Civil War's fate, an important meeting was held by all the reactionary diehards in Canton who had fled from Nanking during the Hsuehchow-Pengpu debacle. And the im-

portant conference resulted in a flat refusal of the Communist request.

Since, militarily, the KMT cannot get the upper hand over the Communists, we would like to persuade the Nationalist Government's diehards in Canton to give up their narrow-minded stubbornness. Rather they should think first of the people's lives and properties for the benefit of both the country and people.

W. H.

Soochow

April 21, 1949

## Faithful Reader

To The Editor:

The library of our school had subscribed to your *Review* for one year and a half, during which time I enjoyed reading it very much for its valuable, impartial and dauntless information which could not be found in the other papers. But unfortunately, since the start of this school term, the school library has stopped the subscription and since then I have not been able to read your *Review*. Indeed, it seems as if I have lost a dear friend.

Dear Editor, can you send me some copies of your magazine free of charge? I hope you will remember one who is a faithful reader of your esteemed *Review*.

YUN-FENG WANG.

Chapu, Chekiang  
April 20, 1949

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# THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

報論評氏勒密

A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 113 Shanghai, Saturday, May 7, 1949 No. 10

## Censorship Problem

**C**ENSORSHIP of these columns has begun. In times past, we have been able to avoid official supervision of what we say, although we did go out of business for a few years when the Japanese occupied Shanghai. However, aside from the Japanese, no one heretofore has restricted the expression of the editor's opinions in these columns, although we have had a few other little difficulties now and then.

Writing under such conditions is a new experience which we do not find particularly stimulating and which, we hope, will not be of great duration. However, only time will give us the answer. We cannot even speculate as to how long we shall have to wait since any such speculation would of necessity involve guesses about the military situation and such action is verboten.

However, according to the daily papers, the military position has changed only slightly in the past week or two, with the Nationalists inflicting crushing blows upon the Communist forces which have entered this general area. Reports published in the local press indicate that the situation in areas around Shanghai is very favorable to the Nationalists. Hangchow is quiet, it is reported, with everything normal. (Dispatches—cleared by the censor—reaching Shanghai at press time said Hangchow had been evacuated—Editor.)

In North Kiangsu things are going even better for the Kuomintang since there have been—according to the local press—widespread peasant revolts against the Communists. This news should indeed be encouraging for the Nationalists since it is a radical departure from the usual attitude of residents in areas overrun by the Communists. That is, of course, areas which the Communists overran in the past before they were halted and thrown back on all fronts with crippling losses, as reported in the local press. If the Nationalists could get some troops into the North Kiangsu area they undoubtedly could take advantage of these revolts.

While speculation is said to be prohibited, it seems only reasonable to presume that the present censorship can last only during the period

of emergency in Shanghai. This period should come to an end eventually, either one way or another. One way might be through the defeat of the enemy.

Meanwhile it is to be hoped that the local censorship office can speed up its operations. (Upon reading these lines, our accommodating censor penciled in a reply, stating that his office was now open 24 hours a day—Editor.) News—even editorials—has a nasty habit of getting out of date quite rapidly, especially during these days when more and more people are turning to the radio.

In this connection there has as yet been no indication of what the authorities plan to do about the various outside radio programs which can be heard locally. There is, of course, the Communist radio. However, we doubt if more than a few tens of thousands of people here listen to it, knowing full well that it is more than likely to report news at considerable variance with that published in the local press. Besides, there aren't very many radios in Shanghai. The Voice of America radio from San Francisco, though, may present a more delicate problem involving international relations. While its bill of fare is usually rather standard and tends to be generally dull, it does occasionally report a speech by some senator or representative or other prominent American who makes unkind remarks about the Central Government. Perhaps the authorities should call Mr. Cabot, the ranking local American, down to garrison headquarters and have a little chat with him along the lines of the one recently held with the British editor of the *North China Daily News*.

The whole problem of censorship is certainly difficult. Everybody is inconvenienced. The public is not let in on various little official secrets, such as about how the war is going, editors are hard put to it to know what to write, while the censors themselves have a thankless task. Probably it is the censors for whom we should feel most sorry, since they are usually impuned against while performing their duties and have virtually no future.

## Losing The Peace

**T**HERE has been a great deal of talk about how America won the war but is losing the peace. Most people who express such a sentiment are referring to the postwar differences between the United States and the Soviet Union. These people "view with alarm" the situation in a dozen different lands. Every symptom of popular dissatisfaction with the reigning clique in countries which the United States is trying to line up on its side, such as Greece, France, Argentina, etc. is automatically labeled as Communist-inspired. Every sign of discontent in countries behind the 'Iron Curtain' is hailed as proof that the flame of democracy has not yet died despite Communist oppression.

The failure of American foreign policy since the end of the war is, of course, the basic reason why the United States is said to be losing the





—Herblock in the Washington Post

peace. The postwar years have seen a gradual expanding of Soviet influence in some areas and a corresponding lessening of American influence. In many areas where the right and left are still struggling for control, there is as yet no decision, while in other places, such as France and Italy, the right seems to have gained the ascendancy, even if only temporarily.

As we have pointed out in previous editorials, there are a number of contradictions in America's foreign policy which, if unchecked, will ultimately result in bankrupting this policy. The United States, for example, realizes that the countries of Western Europe have come out of the last war in a greatly weakened condition and that if the prewar rulers are to keep the reins of government in their hands, outside economic aid must be forthcoming. The Marshall Plan was set up for the express purpose of bolstering the economies of these countries so that the conservative ruling class, which is considered more favorably disposed toward the United States than toward Russia, could keep control.

The second major aim of the Marshall Plan, however, has in many instances shown itself to be in direct contradiction with this first object. The American productive machine was greatly expanded during the war and if the economic wheels of the United States are to be kept rolling smoothly under the present system, additional foreign markets must be found. Thus the Marshall Plan becomes a vehicle for dumping surplus American production abroad, whether the individual countries need the materials or not. In this fashion coals have been carried to Newcastle. The Marshall Plan has on one hand been attempting to build up the economies of recipient nations and on the other has been dumping surplus American commodities which are frequently not useful, often are luxuries, and upon occasion are articles which compete with and destroy native industry.

More recently the American military planners have succeeded in forming the North Atlantic Pact which commits those very war ravaged countries receiving Marshall Plan aid to the maintenance of military establishments which their economies cannot stand.

As the contradictions in this policy become more evident and as the ultimate result becomes more obvious, the framers of American foreign and domestic policy show signs of concern. Unable or unwilling to admit that they are pursuing an illogical course, they are searching for ways and means of bolstering the present policy to keep it from collapse. In this search they are turning more and more to the right. The present hysterical attitude about communism in America reflects this trend. The anti-communist tune has been played at full strength for such a long period that the American people are fast developing a case of jitters. Anyone who professes to see a flaw in the Government is now called a red and, unfortunately, rather effectively discredited.

The ridiculousness of this situation is shown by the fact that Congress continues to vote funds for the thoroughly discredited Committee on Un-American Affairs. The former chairman of this committee, Representative J. Parnell Thomas, who spent the past year bullying witnesses, leveling obviously misleading and irrelevant questions at them, and flatly accusing them of all kinds of subversive actions, has yet to be rebuked by Congress or forced to conduct his hearings in a more fair manner. This despite the fact that Thomas, under indictment for common fraud before a legally constituted court, has made himself a most ludicrous figure by demanding all the legal rights and safeguards which he earlier denied people hailed before his 'court.'

Perhaps more serious than the red hysteria which has been purposely fanned, is the shift to the right in fundamental policies by the Government. During the war the late President Roosevelt stated flatly that the individuals and groups responsible for leading Germany and Japan into an aggressive war were to be removed from power. Shortly after the collapse of Germany and Japan moves were made to implement Roosevelt's plan. However, gradually such ideas have been abandoned and America today is preparing to welcome as friends the very men who were largely responsible for the war.

The reason for this is fairly simple. These men, the managers and owners of the German cartels and the Japanese zaibatsu firms, are dyed in the wool anti-communists. Whatever else they may be, they are fundamentally opposed to communism and therefore might be presumed—by the uninitiated—to be good allies in the struggle to lessen Russian influence in the world. The story of General MacArthur's failure to remove Japan's prewar economic monopolists from power and his failure to break up the zaibatsu firms is well known to all in China and needs little re-telling here. Suffice to say that when MacArthur landed in Japan he carried in his pocket a blueprint for democratizing Japan's economic setup and that



the plan, for all practical purposes, has remained in his pocket.

The story of what has happened in Germany, however, is not so well known. In many ways the failure to act against the Nazi economic czars and their combines is more tragic because of the high state of development of German industry and its monopolistic control of industry throughout the world. I. F. Stone, in a recent column, pointed out how Germany's leading firms were part and parcel of the country's aggressive policy. "When Pearl Harbor came," Stone reported, "America learned through a senate investigating committee under the chairmanship of Harry Truman that American production of synthetic rubber, aviation gasoline, atabrine and many other basic necessities of war had been hamstrung by a web of cartel restrictions woven in Berlin." In the same column Stone revealed that the new Secretary of Defense, Louis A. Johnson, has had a long business association with the I. G. Farben interests in America, which were one of the main groups engaged in restrictive cartel arrangements with American companies before the war.

A recent *Associated Press* dispatch from Washington sheds additional light on the present situation as regards Germany's cartels. "Official US investigators charge that American occupation officials have failed to smash a single one of Germany's giant monopolies under a law now two years old. The committee declared that a democratic economy requires the anti-cartel policy and will prosper under it. The committee contended that the huge trusts greatly facilitated Hitler's war career, and that their elimination will help safeguard peace. The group said there is a threat that the same international trade conditions that helped bring on World War II will rise again." The committee went on to say that Maj.-Gen. William H. Draper, former American economic adviser in Germany and more recently Under-Secretary of the Army, had opposed the decartelization program, contending that any deconcentration would delay Germany's economic advance. Draper, it should be noted, was responsible for one of the economic surveys of Japan which recommended leniency toward the Japanese zaibatsu.

It should also be pointed out that Draper and former Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, as well as the present secretary, Louis A. Johnson, are all prominent businessmen. In the case of Forrestal, the pre-government connection was particularly undesirable in that he was associated with various firms which carried on extensive business with some of the German cartels. This, of course, is not to say that these men were actually serving their own business interests while working for the Government, but it does stand to reason that men who were actively engaged in business transactions with German cartels before the war naturally would view these organizations in a different light from the average citizen.

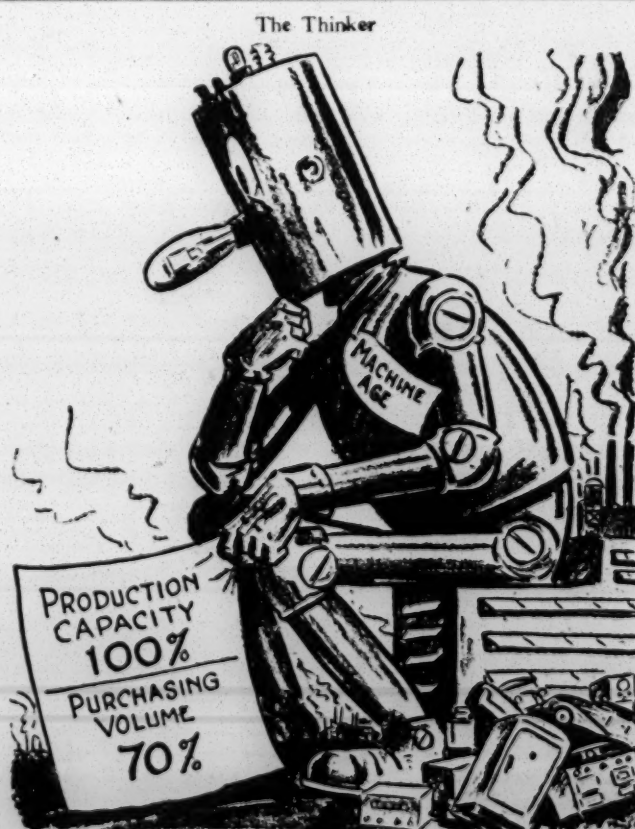
IT is true, we believe, that America is losing the peace. However, we do not believe that

this is true because the competition from Moscow is too great. The reason is that the US is clearly on the wrong track. She is rapidly gathering to her bosom a first-class collection of fascists because they are anti-communist. The fact that she is willing to forego their punishment as war criminals is indicative of a substantial change in views from the immediate postwar days. The fact that she now seems willing to associate with them is indeed startling. These people have not changed their ideas. The answer is thus quite obvious. America fought a war to rid the world of fascism and since then has been moving right herself at a steady pace. If the peace is finally and irretrievably lost, America will have no one to blame but herself.

## Students' Plight

THE 350 odd local students arrested during the past few weeks by the authorities will be given speedy trials, Shanghai's newly-appointed Mayor Chen Liang told the press this week. He further stated that those found not guilty will be released, while those found to be involved in political complications or guilty of serious offenses will be punished according to law. While he did not say so, it is presumed that punishment for those judged guilty will be in accordance with the martial law regulations, which provide the death penalty for a variety of offenses, as well as heavy sentences for other activities.

Mayor Chen also said that the evacuation order for 15 local universities was aimed at "avoiding danger to the faculty members and students in the event of war." He said that the City Government is planning to render emergency



—The New Orleans Times-Picayune

assistance to those students and professors who have been made homeless by the evacuation order. The Mayor thought it possible that accommodation for some faculty members may be found in vacant hotel rooms, saying that the Park Hotel, for example, might be asked to assist the authorities in this matter by providing accommodation for a certain number of professors. From the Mayor's wording, it may be presumed that the hotels are to be asked to donate the use of vacant rooms.

It has also been revealed that the campuses of the vacated schools have been inspected by the deputy garrison commander and that the authorities are prepared to allow those students and teachers who have not yet removed their personal belongings from their dormitories to do so now. This is welcome news since many of those forced from their schools must be experiencing difficulties living on Shanghai's streets these days and will find their bedding and extra clothes, as well as other belongings, of considerable use. So far there has been no word from the authorities as to the disposition of the food stuffs, fire wood, and other items which most student bodies have been collecting and storing for use in the event of an emergency. It is to be hoped that some method of releasing this material can be arranged. Perhaps the authorities could buy it on behalf of the troops now being quartered in these universities and make a cash payment to the dispossessed students. It would be a shame if nothing were done about these supplies and they were allowed to deteriorate or be lost through day to day consumption by the troops or other groups having access to the college campuses.

The plight of Shanghai's students is certainly sad. Many have been arrested, while thousands have been turned out of their schools because of the critical military situation. While it is perhaps too much to expect the authorities to be overly concerned with the problems of a few thousand students, especially when they have to attend to other pressing matters such as the defense of the city and the removal of government officials and offices to Canton, it is to be hoped that as much as possible will be done for the students and their teachers. For the future, they are much more important to the country than most other groups of similar size and their talents should be preserved. When peace comes to this city, they will, we feel sure, be prepared to shoulder many responsibilities and work for the reconstruction of the country.

### First Things First

Mr. Teng Chieh, former mayor of Nanking, who was previously reported to have been arrested by the Communists during his highway journey from Nanking, arrived here safely in a jeep yesterday. . . . Upon his arrival, he immediately went to the Central Bank to . . . make arrangements for collection of the funds due to the Nanking Government.—*China Press*, April 29.

## 25 Years Ago in The China Weekly Review

### China To Americans

May 3, 1924

(The following extract is taken from an address given by F. J. Deane, former President of the American Chamber of Commerce in Peking, to a joint meeting of the Buffalo (NY) Chamber of Commerce and Rotary Club.)

"So far, I seem to have said little that is encouraging about present-day conditions in China, but there is a bright side to the picture. That bright side lies in the masses of the people.

"China is not entirely composed of militarists, unscrupulous politicians and bandits. These form a very small proportion of the people. China is full of honest, hard-working men and women; China has many splendid examples of the highest type of business men. China has scholarly teachers. These are the people on whom the future of the country depends; these are the people whom we must help. . . .

"Many American manufacturers are in the habit of thinking that China is a pretty good place to send their surplus production when the domestic demands are not up to normal, but that it is not a specially important field. At the moment, it may not seem important, but the time is rapidly coming when the production of our manufacturers will be much greater than the domestic demand. Then the China market will be a necessity. But someone else may have captured the market by that time; and salesmen know how difficult it is to take a market away from someone else. The best investment possible at present is a thorough study of China as a future market."

### Chinese Bankers Speak

(The following extract is taken from the declarations of the Chinese Bankers' Association meeting in Peking on April 22, 1924.)

"The political turmoil of the country that has prevailed both in Peking and the provinces has resulted in one unique and unfortunate situation, namely, the increased hardship of the people's living and the fearful abundance of bandits and outlaws. The principal cause of such a situation is attributed to the fact that an overwhelming amount of national expense is disposed of every year for military purposes and hence the financial state of the country is rendered into disorder and turmoil. As a consequence commerce and industry have been greatly disorganized and at many places totally destroyed, and unemployment and starvation have become a common phenomenon, thus the mass of people are being helplessly driven to no other living than brigandage."

## 10 Years Ago In The China Weekly Review

### Hitler's Troops Kill Workers

May 6, 1939

One of the most significant reports to come out of Germany since Hitler took power in 1933, was a *Reuter* dispatch dated April 28 from Metz, stating that 10 persons were killed and many wounded in rioting in the Saar district on the occasion of Chancellor Hitler's fiftieth birthday.

Quoting French border reports, the dispatch said the casualties occurred after the Reichswehr had been called out to suppress a demonstration by workers protesting against the 60-hour week. German troops, it was stated, charged throngs of workers and opened fire on them. Travelers coming from Saarbrücken said similar disturbances took place in that city, 20 persons being arrested.

### Japanese "Advance"

Industrial note from the Tokyo *Hochi* (April 19): "The Japan Flour Company decides to 'advance to Hankow' by taking over the management of two Chinese mills."



# Japan And The Chinese Communists

William Costello

(CBS Far East News Director)

"I don't care whether China is Red or green," said Premier Shigeru Yoshida, 72-year-old leader of Japan's conservative majority party. "China is a natural market, and it has become necessary for Japan to think about markets."

That bit of bravado on the part of a politician who once told me "I hate communism so much I avoid even reading about it" is probably an accurate reflection of the state of uneasiness which has prevailed in Japan since the collapse of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist armies. It would be harder to say just where uneasiness leaves off and fear begins—or even that there is yet a genuine feeling of fear. The impact of China's new revolution came like an atomic flash, and the filaments of oriental intuition picked it up like a sensitive geiger counter. The precise meaning of the revolution might be obscure, but there was a universal tendency to murmur "the Chinese are very realistic...so are we!"

A cross-section of Japanese opinion would probably reveal 1) no imminent fear of military invasion—certainly not while American occupation forces are present—and no danger of a revolutionary coup by the Communists here, 2) a general yearning for reciprocal trade, without which Japan cannot live, 3) apprehension that expansion of trade may strengthen the Japan Communist party by a process of slow infiltration, and 4) an impulse to outlaw and crush the Communist party by ruthless police tactics instead of outpointing it in the politico-economic arena.

## Bandwagon Vote?

Efforts to find a direct relationship between events in China and Japan meet with scant success. The election of January 23 is a pertinent illustration. The Communist party to the surprise of even its own leaders won 35 seats in the house of representatives, compared with four in the previous diet. The same question occurred to everyone: Was this a bandwagon vote, influenced by Communist victories in China?

Opinions differed. In the Japanese foreign office, youthful diplomats waiting for a peace treaty which will restore their overseas assignments refused to be stampeded. They admitted that, lacking an army, Japan has become acutely sensitive to power relationships which might affect its security, that people watch Communist advances in China with deep concern, that Communist gains have been much more rapid than people expected. However they added:

"People in general are not overly impressed because Japanese have always looked down on Chinese, and because they feel it will take years

before the Communists can put their own house in order and constitute a real threat to Japan. The impact of the Communist victory is purely psychological—but not sufficiently imminent to warrant psychological panic. To most Japanese, Chinese developments are still a 'fire on the other side of the river.'"

Other observers agreed there were substantial domestic reasons for the Communist party's gains. They cited popular disappointment over corruption of the political parties in power, protests against perpetual hard living, smoldering discontent over high taxes, yearning for national independence, and general anti-occupation feelings. These factors were more powerful than even Communist attempts at intimidation. As one of their campaign tactics, the Reds launched a whispering campaign threatening, once they got in power, to purge all who collaborated with the occupation; a few of the more timorous were influenced by this species of psychological terrorism, but the general effect was to strengthen the anti-Communist movement.

## Barrage Of Theories

Occupation officials concurred in this estimate in a lengthy and carefully documented election survey by the military government section of the Eighth Army. The report declared: "The Japanese displayed an unfortunate tendency, not without precedent, to vote for extremes. The Communists have charmed the ranks of the gullible—laborer and intellectual alike—with a barrage of loose theories, catchwords, clichés and generalities, of which many Japanese are apparently extremely fond. The gains made by the Communist Party, particularly at the expense of the Socialist Party, are the fruits of an increasingly successful campaign of agitation waged against all government parties as well as against the occupation. In an era of economic scarcity and social upheaval following in the wake of a disastrous war, Communist leaders took advantage of a disillusioned people to set themselves up as the sole disciples of the new order. The Party capitalized quickly and well upon the mistakes of its enemies, and its well-disciplined members pushed its platform aggressively and purposefully."

A Japanese periodical writer elaborates on the techniques employed by the Communists to extend their influence. He starts by acknowledging they are "a sturdy, brainy breed, disciplined in adversity and trained in their ideologies and the art of propaganda," and describes the manner in which they set themselves up as defenders of the weak and chastisers of the rich.

"An elderly woman moved recent-

ly into my district from a suburb near Tokyo where Communists were active. Its inhabitants, she testified, were much better off than others in the matter of rationing and in household economy generally, thanks to the 'gallant activities' of their Communist neighbors. If a charcoal dealer were lazy or arrogant, your Communist neighbor would sally forth and lecture him in such a forceful way that he would soon mend his manners and be an obliging fellow. Was a rice-man unkind or discriminatory in his deliveries?—up would go the *kyosanto* and argue the point with him. On the walls here and there were placards calling upon all those hard up or troubled with landlords, creditors or tax collectors to come and get help free of charge from the Communists. Thus by fishing in troubled waters, the live-wire Commies are in their rough way trying to ingratiate themselves with the masses."

In the face of such evidence it would be absurd to conclude that a spate of Communist success in China could make Japan's Reds the fourth largest party in the diet. The fact is that for three and a half years the Communist party had been building itself up with an energy and zeal unmatched by any other party. Eighteen months ago Yoshio Shiga, editor of *Red Flag*, explained the party had transferred its organizing activities to the rural areas. He added with a grin: "In the big cities—too much interference from occupation authorities!" In January this year, the party seized upon the election as an ideal opportunity to exploit its growth.

## Party Resolution

The Communists themselves were cautious in assessing the returns, but they chortled smugly as they studied their dialectical crystal ball. Said party chairman Sango Nozaka: "The overwhelming victory of the Chinese Communists has brought bright hope to progressive workers, farmers and small-medium size enterprisers. It has deepened their conviction that in the near future they too can control Japan!" To insure party harmony—and incidentally to dramatize their affinity with international communism—party leaders called the 35-man delegation together and rammed through a resolution declaring: "All diet members must act as party members, without slavish adherence to their constituencies." Thus, it is clear that Japan's Communists expect growth of the movement in China to give impetus to their own program, and that they intend to pursue a tactical pattern differing in no way from those in other countries.

Sober-minded Japanese say it matters not at all whether the elec-



tion was directly influenced by Chinese Communist victories; what matters, they say, is that Asiatic communism is no longer a pigmy in Never-never land but a giant on the threshold.

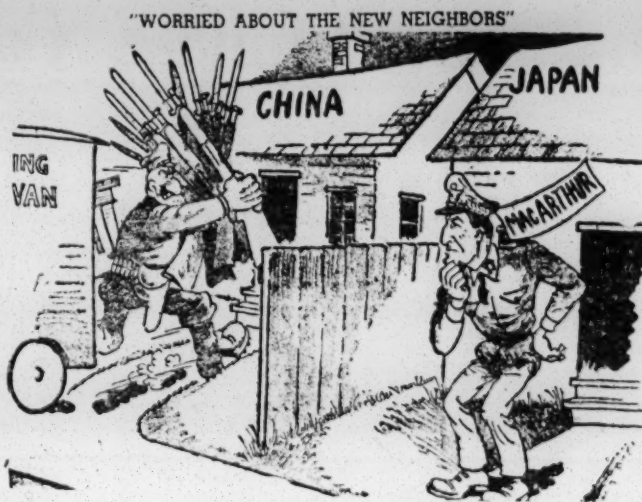
With a show of anxiety partly hypocritical and partly real, the more conservative argue communism is a force to be reckoned with—and if they could have their way, it would be dealt with summarily and without delay. With insidious cleverness, they are working the red herring overtime as a means of preserving the same nationalistic interests which General MacArthur came here to destroy.

Information from reliable Japanese bureaucrats indicates Premier Yoshida wants to scrap constitutional guarantees and declare the Communist party illegal. Since he cannot obtain General MacArthur's permission for anything so drastic, the trend is to whittle away the freedoms granted in such few of the MacArthur reforms as have been implemented. The premier has maneuvered insistently for a revision of labor laws. One recent Yoshida proposal was for an investigatory committee, not in the diet where its activities would be publicized, but under the control of the cabinet, like the old "thought police." Another was for an "un-Japanese activities committee" (also under cabinet control) whose functions have never been defined.

### Appeals Board

Premier Yoshida also created a purge appeals board, with authority to review the cases of purgees who felt they had been unjustly barred from public life. By that device he hopes to recover the services of General Hideki Tojo's followers, those who from 1931 onward demonstrated their adroitness in suppressing civil liberties and controlling Japanese labor. He went so far, soon after the election, as to send General MacArthur a long list of purgees whose services he considered indispensable in promoting Japan's economic recovery. His request for their clearance met a frigid and emphatic refusal.

By now, occupation authorities are under no illusion about Yoshida. A recent army report said: "Leaders of the Democratic-Liberal party are well known for their lack of sympathy with some of the occupation's policies. Yoshida fought hard against transferring sovereignty from the emperor to the people. He attempted only recently to revive the power of the emperor by claiming that the emperor with the consent of the cabinet could, under Article 7 of the new constitution, dissolve the diet without the passage of a non-confidence motion. Again it was the Democratic-Liberal party more than all others which opposed many SCAP-sponsored economic measures, such as strict price controls, liquidation of control associations, and the business transactions taxes."



—Martin in The Houston Chronicle

General MacArthur's headquarters scoffs at the notion that any new measures will be undertaken to curb communism. In bureaucratic circles; however, it is common knowledge that Yoshida is bending every effort toward repressive measures. One magazine writer inferred blandly that the immediate consequence of the election would be a "strong government and a restricted labor movement."

Another, veteran Socialist Ikuo Oyama, said bluntly: "Reactionary forces have been evident in oppression of trade union activities, the predominance of local 'bosses' in prefectural self-government bodies, and restriction of academic freedom. Freedom of conscience, freedom of thought, and academic liberty—as guaranteed by the constitution—are all threatened by the contemplated establishment of the so-called Un-Japanese Activities Committee. National policies are formulated more and more evidently in the interests of monopoly capital."

An analysis of prefectural newspaper editorials indicates a widespread fear that Yoshida has no constructive policy for dealing with Communist aggressiveness. A typical comment appearing in the Sanin Nichinichi said: "It would be a total mistake for the administration to be under the impression that, by suppression or by formation of an anti-Communist agency, it can control a party which adheres to a specific thought as though it were a religion." Several papers urged the cabinet not to resort to extreme or "makeshift measures" to combat the Communists, since such tactics might easily backfire against the administration.

There is an inarticulate feeling that communism has grown too big—and is deriving too much moral support from the Chinese Communist sweep—to be beaten with police truncheons; there is general recognition that Japan needs an application of President Truman's formula—beat communism by offering more liberty and better living. A conviction is growing that Yoshida is more interested in defeating labor and sabotaging the occupation than in coming to grips with a far-sighted economic program which could ef-

fectively undermine the appeal of communism.

A cautious warning against Yoshida's tactics was uttered in mid-March by William J. Sebald, chairman of the Allied Council for Japan and political adviser to MacArthur, who observed the answer to communism is not simply to muster more police, not merely to be "anti-Communist." "The cure lies," he said, "in broadly affirmative and constructively liberal policies—in finance, in employment, in social relations, in farm ownership, in all the multiple phases into which society organizes itself."

Japanese reactionaries took advantage of the rise of Chinese communism to express fears for their military security, especially after Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royall deprecated Japan's importance as a military ally. When Royall's remarks were mistakenly interpreted as a hint of American withdrawal, occupation authorities had to issue hasty assurances.

General MacArthur said: "Japan's role is to be a Switzerland of the Pacific...but if Japan were attacked, we should certainly defend her. Though the advance of the Red armies in China places them on the flank of our island position, this does not alter the fact that our only possible adversary on the Asiatic continent does not possess industrial bases near enough to supply an amphibious attacking force."

Mr. Sebald added: "The United States does not intend to allow Japan to become victim to that type of insidious, concealed aggression and infiltration which thrives on chaos and fear."

### Trade With China

On the whole, the political and military alarms, and excursions of Japanese ultra-nationalists have had scant success. The economic implications of Chinese communism have, however, aroused the liveliest concern. In all parties it is agreed that trade between Japan and China is not only desirable but actually essential. Communist Chairman Nosaka conceded close economic relationships will be equally desirable to Japanese capitalists and Chinese Communists. Left-wing Socialist Mosaburo Suzuki says "trade is essential both for the Japanese and the Reds." The conservative daily, *Mainichi*, observed: "The recovery of Japan depends on stability in China, and the slump in trade with China is one of the main causes for China's confused economy." The chairman of the Japan Trade Association also points out that trade with the Reds is essential to both countries, and adds that "smuggled goods are already arriving in Chinese territory through Hongkong and North Korea."

Japanese concern is most cogently expressed in cold statistics. In 1914, Japan sent 37 percent of its exports to China; the growth of ill-



feeling in China reduced that figure to 24 percent in 1927, and to 21 percent in 1932. That was when Japan invaded Manchuria, as a means of recovering its markets. By 1941, the figure had been boosted back to 32 percent—which means that a third of Japan's industrial economy was dependent on China. Japan obtained slightly less than a quarter of its imports from Chinese territory.

Today, China is especially important in soybeans, iron ore, coking coal and salt. These commodities in quantity are not available elsewhere in the Far East: if Japan were forced to obtain them at high prices and high freight rates from the United States, the difference in cost would cripple Japanese ability to compete in foreign trade. Unless Japan can sell cheap textiles and light industrial products to China, it can never hope to attain a level of exports capable of paying for essential food imports.

### Remorseless Logic

It is this remorseless logic which holds the Japanese transfixed in their contemplation of the new Chinese revolution. They are afraid to trade, and afraid not to. Premier Yoshida, in a gesture to "realism," expressed a willingness to trade, regardless of the political consequences. Members of his cabinet are non-committal; they say on the one hand that it all depends on General MacArthur, and on the other that smuggling is already in progress, with American middlemen making all the profit.

Socialist leader Mosaburo Suzuki takes another tack, saying "refusal to open trade with Japan would mean the destruction of the Chinese Communist government. Without Japanese products, the Communists would fall in their drive to control the whole of China, because the Communists must industrialize in order to establish a strong government. Russia cannot provide economic aid, so inevitably Japan will be China's best customer."

Communist Nozaka ignores this appeal to Chinese self-interest, and puts the shoe on the other foot. Pointing out Japan's need of raw materials, he asks whether Chinese communism will trade with Japan unconditionally. He predicts the Chinese will not adopt trade policies helpful to Japan "unless a new and more democratic government replaces the present reactionary Yoshida cabinet." He reinforces this hint of politico-economic blackmail by an implied threat that repressive action against Japanese communism will draw reprisals from China.

In trying to weigh the impact of communist hegemony in China, it seems clear 1) that Japanese communism has received a psychological shot in the arm and achieved significant new bargaining leverage and 2) the policy of Japanese conservatives vacillates between economic greed and political strong-arm stuff. It will be up to the United States to provide a democratic, moderating influence.

## Spring And Stabilization:

### Letter From Paris

JACQUES DECAUX

Paris (by airmail)

WITH spring in the air, Paris is taking on new colors. And as the seasonal merry-go-round revolves, the French economic situation is beginning to show some improvement.

Economic recovery has worked its way slowly into the industrial and agricultural fields with the result—most welcome to the underpaid and hard working people—that the cost of living has shown a slight decrease. For the last two months most commodity prices have held steady. Economic observers explain that this stabilization is due to increased production and to a slackening of the average buyer's needs. But economists seem less cheerful.

Last month, the French middle-of-the-road government launched a loan. While official quarters expressed satisfaction over the fact that the billion francs which were collected saved the government from a new economic crisis, economists pointed out that the favorable results of the loan were made possible only by the government's sale of large amounts of gold which caused gold prices to drop about 30 percent in a three month period. Foreign and French stocks in France also fell sharply, while some French governmental loans which were exchanged for the new loan rose accordingly.

Although the government maintains that the franc is being stabilized and is regaining some of its lost value, economists declare that shareholders do not want to sell at a loss. They also state that the fact that the general indices show a downward trend in prices does not necessarily mean that business is picking up, since people are buying less and the living standard remains low.

On the political side, the elections which took place in March were greeted as a victory by all parties. It was most puzzling to newspaper

readers to find each party treating the results as a personal success. Some conservative observers—without venturing to append figures to their statements—said that the greatest victory went to the old fashioned radicalism which is clearly a French feature in politics. The radicals already had obtained considerable success in the elections for the Council of the Republic (a kind of Upper Chamber) last year. The greatest losers, although their losses were probably less important than they had feared, were the Socialist party, the Catholic Popular Republican movement and the Communists. Gaullist candidates were second only to the radicals in the returns.

The Gaullist issue was difficult to analyze because de Gaulle's attitude is that his rally stands above all parties. Therefore, some candidates on the Gaullist lists were true Gaullists, whereas others, who are on the Gaullist side but still retain their own political shades, were described as "bigamous." On this point, a quarrel arose between the Gaullists and the government, as the latter insisted on giving the Gaullists favorable figures only when their candidates were not bigamous. Even so, Gaullism seems to have increased its power slightly. But then, it is probable that many radicals picked up the Gaullist platform as a means to get votes, and their loyalty to de Gaulle, if not at present, at least when the occasion presents itself, may be questioned.

It is noteworthy that some stability has been regained in the political as well as in the economic field. When looking at the present French political behavior it is striking to see that the fight between parties has relaxed. Communism is still the great enemy of all the other parties, but it has lost some of its past virulence. Therefore, while Gaullism is still a definite danger to the government coalition, it has lost some of its appeal.

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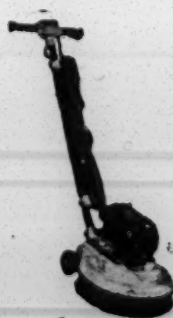
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# The Place Of The Press In Communist China

Andrew Roth

ON March 10, the North China Communist organ *People's Daily* announced that all Chinese newspapermen and publications would have to register "in order to protect freedom of press and speech for the people" and "also to suppress counter-revolutionary speech and publication."

On February 27, all foreign correspondents in Peiping were ordered to cease newsgathering and filing. But more fundamental is the way in which the Communists have reorganized the press of the Tientsin-Peiping area. In these two cities prior to the arrival of the Communists there were about 30 newspapers. Most of these papers were the organs of the Kuomintang and its leaders or of special interests, because newspaper publishing in China is not a commercial proposition and most papers have to be subsidized. In the Kuomintang period Peiping's newspapers sold only 130,000 copies in a city of 2,000,000.

The *Ta Kung Pao* was exceptional in that, although it was controlled at the top by interests close to the moderate Political Science clique in the Kuomintang, its staff members have usually been liberals and leftists. As a result of the compromise between owners and staff the Tientsin *Ta Kung Pao* was the closest thing to an objective newspaper in the area. The liberal *Hsin Min Pao* in Peiping managed to survive by being as critical of the Kuomintang as it could without being shut down.

## Communist Newspapers

The Communists closed all but one paper in the area—the anti-Kuomintang Peiping *Hsin Min Pao*—and allowed four others to reopen after they had been reorganized. The Communists have opened four of their own newspapers: the *People's Daily* (*Jen Min Jih Pao*), which is the Communist Party organ for all North China; the *Masses Daily* (*Ta Chung Jih Pao*), which is aimed at working people in the area; the *Tientsin Daily* (*Tien Ching Jih Pao*), for the Tientsin area; and the *Peiping Liberation Daily* (*Peiping Chieh Fang Jih Pao*), for the Peiping area.

One of those which has reopened has been the Tientsin *Ta Kung Pao*, which now appears under the name of the *Progressive Daily* (*Chin Pu Jih Pao*). It has precisely the same staff as before, with slight shifts. Editor-in-chief is Yang Kang, well-known woman reporter who served as *Ta Kung Pao's* correspondent in the US for a number of years and whose brother, a well-known liberal newspaperman, "died" in jail in Hangchow.

The *Progressive Daily* expressed its new philosophy of journalism in an editorial on March 7. A newspaper, this editorial pointed out, is not a "supernatural" thing but something which reflects "economic and political trends" and must decide which side it favors. "On the one hand it may be the instrument of the oppressor class to control the people, but on the other hand it may be the weapon of the people to oppose oppression." The *Progressive Daily* pledges itself to China's "new master, the laboring people".

In line with this theory, news and information become not objective reproductions of life but instruments for changing life. Thus on March 14 an editorial in the *Progressive Daily* expressed concern over the fact that many people in Peiping and Tientsin "believe that a third World War is unavoidable and that when it comes the United States will interfere in China's internal affairs and help Chiang Kai-shek to make a comeback." Not only did the *Progressive Daily* attack this editorially, saying it is wrong because "it over-estimates the power of American imperialism," but it and the other Communist-line papers in this area have tried to destroy this widely-spread idea through their news columns.

## Anti-American Campaign

The columns of all the Communist-licensed newspapers in Peiping and Tientsin have been replete with articles proving that "American imperialism" is internally weak and decaying while the Soviet "rampart of peace" is strong and prospering. These articles go far beyond any factual data or even sober Marxist analysis which might be applied to this theory. For example, recently the Peiping *People's Daily* said that American workers are so impoverished that they are selling their eyes to rich blind people in order to live. On the other hand, it was alleged that workers in the Soviet Union work only five or six hours a day. This campaign is clearly designed to dissipate any fear or respect for the US as a rich and powerful country. "Why," said a foreign humorist, "the Communists' news about America is even more distorted than *Time* magazine's news about Communist China!"

This situation is not pleasing to all the liberal left newspapermen in the Peiping-Tientsin area. "Our paper is so full of propaganda now that there is scarcely any news!" one liberal editor complained to me. He wasn't in disagreement with the Communists' objectives—merely with the way in which they are trying to achieve them through the press.

"When I argue with the Communists they say that the function of the press in the New China is to teach, not to inform." He felt that the press could do both. He also disclosed that four editors, including one from the *Wen Wei Pao*, which moved to Hongkong after being shut down in Shanghai, were working on the Communist leaders in Peiping to get them to loosen up their press policy. He hoped that in two months or so his paper could run a much larger quota of objective information.

The slanted version of the news can be corrected in the meantime by listening to the radio. Furthermore, postal relations have been opened up with South China and there seems to be only a spot-censorship, apparently limited to suspected elements among the foreigners and Chinese.

## Free Press A Luxury

When this correspondent suggested to a leftwing, Western-educated professor that a steady diet of distorted information might result in mistaken decisions, he shook his head and said a bit sadly: "There's no other way." He declared that a free press was a luxury which could be afforded only by rich countries like the United States and Britain and that even there the press is not free because it represents almost entirely the viewpoint of its wealthy owners and advertisers. In China, he pointed out, the main problem is not freedom of the press but securing freedom from want for its 400,000,000 impoverished people.

In their first two months in the Peiping-Tientsin area the Communist record on "freedom from fear" is more impressive than their press record. Although many anti-Communists left before the Communists entered, and there is some restraint in speech and action on the part of some wealthy people and Kuomintang supporters, there is little evidence of fear of the police.

In dealing with the police or Communist gendarmerie the main danger is running into an over-zealous under-officer. On my last night in Peiping I was saying goodbye to some colleagues at the door when a security patrol of Communist soldiers came into our street. We were asked who we were and why we had gathered. When the patrol-leader learned we were foreign correspondents—who had been attacked as potential spies in the Peiping press—he demanded to see all our documents. He challenged my exit permit as invalid and kept us standing around for an hour and a half while he checked with police headquarters. Later that night he re-



turned to check with our servants to find if we had weapons or a radio transmitter. It is only fair to note, however, that this was the only such incident in two months under Communist rule and that even the other Communist soldiers in the squad gave evidence they thought its leader was being too much of an "eager-beaver."

At any rate the number of people who fear the police now is smaller than before. Peiping's vigorous student movement has long lived in fear of the Kuomintang police because many liberal and leftist students were arrested and a number shot in the two years before the Communists entered. Now the bulk of the students are enthusiastically helping the Communists. Pedicab drivers and street peddlers, who used to be beaten and bullied by the police, now report they are completely unmolested.

There is quite a bit of open grumbling by many people who seem not to fear any consequences. They have possibly been encouraged by the fact that in the universities professors and students who are widely believed to have been spies for the Kuomintang political police have been left alone thus far.

Actually the most jittery people in Peiping are the Communists themselves who seem very fearful that Kuomintang secret agents—including a regiment of gendarmes which went underground with their arms just before the Communists entered Peiping—may attempt to assassinate some of the liberal elements collaborating with the Communists, or some of the top-ranking Communists who moved into Peiping on March 25. Most of the liberals—such as Marshal Li Chi-sen—are staying at the Peiping Hotel and it is very difficult to get by the armed guards at the door unless someone identifies you.

### Missionary Schools

The Chinese Communist attitude toward religion and missionaries has been the subject of much controversy, partly because they have apparently followed different policies in different areas and different periods. Missionary activity is rather important in China because about three-quarters of China's medical facilities and much of its higher education—including both Protestant Yenching University and Catholic Fudan University in the Peiping area—have been missionary-sponsored. There have been no reports of any Communist sniping at either religion or missionary schools in the Peiping area, which is the North China headquarters for many missions. American Catholic fathers at Fudan University say that there has been no trouble with the Communists whatever. They have had trouble, however, with Chinese members of the staff—including Chinese Catholic fathers—and the student body, who have taken advantage of the Communist takeover to give voice to their anti-foreign attitude.

## The Week's Business

THE financial confusion of the week ending April 30 was considerably lessened during the first part of this week because of many factors. These included:

1) Financial quotations have increased greatly, and many businessmen have started to liquidate their positions, anticipating a tight money situation.

2) Many people have started to sell silver dollars in view of reports to the effect that one ounce of gold costs 100 silver dollars in Nanking and Wusih as compared with 30 or 40 in Shanghai.

3) Large sums of Gold Yuan have been paid in to the Central Bank of China in exchange for 400,000 silver dollars used for the payment of workers between April 30 and May 3, in accordance with the new regulations.

4) Many silver dollar peddlers have been arrested by the local authorities, and all who intend to buy and sell silver dollars in the future must register with the Bureau of Social Affairs and obtain a regular license for the business.

5) No commercial or government banks, with the exception of the Central Bank of China, will be permitted to issue bank orders as from May 5.

There was little business during the first few days of this week owing to the fact that the new provisions concerning bank order issuance hampered businessmen as there were no cash notes or bank orders with which to do any transactions.

This quiet situation gave the public a breathing space after the chaotic week from April 25 to 30 when commodity prices increased an average of 10 times and financial quotations went up 20 to 30 times. The situation was especially bad on April 29 and 30 just before the publication of the cost of living index for the second half of the month of April.

After hours of discussion, the special committee in charge of the cost of living index announced on April 30 that it was unable to release the index and instead directed all factories to exchange their Gold Yuan for silver dollars from the Central Bank at the rate of GY4,000,000 to one silver dollar for the payment of wages. Each worker was to receive one silver dollar and the rest in commodities.

However, in the afternoon, the committee announced that a wage index for the period had been compiled, which was 371,344 times the August 19 price level, representing a 2,300 percent increase as compared with the mid-month index of 15,140. Along with the wage index, the first of its kind ever announced, the City Government also set the cost of living index covering the last half of April at 235,846 times the August 19 price level.

Despite this tremendous increase

in the wage index, workers received far less than in the middle of the month in terms of commodities. This has led to many disputes between the workers and their employers, and in many cases special "emergency allowances" were demanded. In this connection, it should be recalled that Government banks and Government offices have paid out large sums of Gold Yuan in cash and silver dollars as "emergency allowances" to their staff members. This was reported to be one of the reasons for the skyrocketing of prices during the last few days of April. It has been reported in the press that higher authorities have disapproved this measure, which was evidently carried out independently by the local authorities, and have ordered all staff members to return the "emergency allowances" which they received. Whether or not they can do so is highly questionable, since most of them have spent the money.

If the temporary stability of the Shanghai market is to be continued, much remains to be done. If commercial banks will not be allowed to issue bank orders as of May 5, will it be possible for the Central Bank of China to supply sufficient cash notes and bank orders for the commercial banks to meet the demands of their clients? If not, all business transactions will be halted as was the case during the first few days of the present week.

In this connection, the commercial banks have presented four demands to the authorities, including:

1) That the commercial banks receive cash notes in full when they withdraw their deposits from the Central Bank of China,

2) That these cash notes be paid to the commercial banks before noon of each day instead of late in the afternoon, as is the present practice,

3) That while all commercial banks will not issue bank orders after May 5, no time limit should be fixed for the recall of those bank orders already issued, and

4) That on May 5, the first day when the commercial banks are not permitted to issue bank orders, the Central Bank must pay 40 percent in cash and 60 percent in bank orders for withdrawals from the commercial banks.

The following table gives the quotations of some of the leading commodities traded in Shanghai during the past week:

|                 | April 27<br>GY | May 4<br>GY |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------|
| Gold            | 50,000,000     | 185,000,000 |
| US Dollar       | 1,200,000      | 4,000,000   |
| Clearance       |                |             |
| Certificate     | 205,000        | 2,000,000   |
| Silver Dollar   | 1,350,000      | 4,000,000   |
| 20's Yarn       | 2.4 ozs. gold  | 528,000,000 |
| Rice            | 4.4 silver \$  | 20,520,000  |
| Wing On Textile | 297.5          | 888.5       |



## NEWS OF THE WEEK

### Reds Drive Toward Rail Lines; Gov't To Defend Sh'ai, Hankow

AFTER the capture of Nanking and other important towns along the Nanking-Shanghai railway line, the Communist armies slowed down their drive toward Shanghai. Communist strategy, it would appear, consists in cutting off the railway communication between Shanghai and other cities, thus bottling up Shanghai. Since the Reds have already gained control of the Nanking-Shanghai railway, their attention was turned to the Shanghai-Hangchow railway. To attain this objective, the Reds are driving toward Hangchow in two routes, one from the Soochow-Kashing highway and the other from the Nanking-Hangchow highway near Tai Lake. At the time of writing, Kashing was still in Nationalist hands, but the sounds of gunfire were distinctly audible in the city, according to reports in the Chinese press. Another Communist column, after taking Ihsing, Changhsing, Wuhsing and Tehching, is reported to be heading straight toward Hangchow, where the situation is said to be tense and critical. The Chekiang Provincial Government is reported to have moved to Ningpo. In western Chekiang, local Communist irregulars are very active and Government armies have evacuated Yuchien, Hsiaofeng and Changhua.

Communist units in southern Anhwei are reported to have penetrated into Kiangsi, having captured Loping and Fuliang. The Kiangsi Provincial Government is said to be moving from Nanchang to Kanhsien.

Judging from recent developments in the war situation, qualified observers are inclined to believe that the Communist armies are bent on driving deep into Chekiang and Kiangsi in order to disrupt the Chekiang-Kiangsi railway line and frustrate the Nationalists' plan to hold the Nanchang-Hangchow line to resist Communist thrusts into South China.

#### Shanghai And Hankow

SOME military observers are of the opinion that the Reds are isolating Shanghai instead of waging immediate frontal attacks against the city. The *Associated Press* sized up the situation this way: "The powerful Communist drive in China appeared aimed at the entrapment of Nationalist armies rather than an early capture of Shanghai. Isolation, rather than occupation, was what they seemed to have in mind for Shanghai at the moment."

A Government spokesman in Canton said May 1 that the Nationalists had decided to defend Shanghai and Hankow to the bitter end. Another

official source, General Ching Teh-shuan, vice Minister of National Defense, said it was necessary to defend Shanghai as long as possible in order to retain the respect and support of foreign nations which were in a position to assist the Nationalist cause. He further disclosed that the Nationalists would make a stand along the Chientong River, which runs west from Chekiang to Kiangsi.

So far as Hankow is concerned, AP reported May 1 from Canton:

"More aid for the defense of Central China was today reportedly to have been promised General Pai Chung-hsi at a conference of military leaders here. The more-aid pledge to Acting President Li Tsung-jen's right hand man came from Premier Ho Ying-chin. Pai told reporters following the conference that Hankow would be defended to the last. He said that Hunan and Hupeh provinces were solidly behind the Central authorities in resisting Communist aggression. Lt.-Gen. Wang Ho-hua, deputy chief of staff of the Hankow command who came here with General Pai, told reporters that Red General Lin Piao has about 100,000 troops outside Hankow pitted against a superior number of Government forces behind entrenched positions."

In this connection, it will be interesting to recall previous press reports to the effect that General Pai Chung-hsi had already evacuated most of his troops and equipment to Hengyang, in Hunan, in anticipation of a general Red offensive in the Hankow area.

#### Gimo's Appeal

GENERALISSIMO Chiang Kai-shek, in his capacity as director-general of the Kuomintang, issued a nation-wide appeal to the Chinese people on April 27 calling upon his fellow countrymen to join in a struggle in defense of liberty and democracy.

The Generalissimo predicted serious difficulties for the Communists now that they have crossed the Yangtze River. To his way of thinking, the Chinese Communists, by rejecting the efforts of the National Government to bring about a peaceful settlement and by launching a drive across the Yangtze River, have "blundered into the same political and military errors which mired the Japanese." He declared that the crossing of the Yangtze River by the Communist armies represented the peak of the Communist military development. This action, he predicted, also would bring the

Reds face to face with a tangling mass of military, political and economic problems which would eventually result in their inevitable downfall.

The Generalissimo stressed the world significance of the Communist movement in China and charged that the Chinese Communists were seeking to prepare China and the Chinese people for a role in the forthcoming international slaughter.

#### Reds & Foreign Powers

AS the result of the sensational fall of Nanking, the Western powers have felt it necessary to take a "realistic" view of the situation in this country. The United States and Great Britain, according to press dispatches, are doing their utmost to get along with the Chinese Communists. The *Associated Press* reported April 29 from London that Britain plans to establish "friendly relations" with the Chinese Communist Government. It is pointed out that Britain has precedents for having business relations with both sides in a civil war, including the American Civil War. In reply to a question whether the new attitude would affect relations with the Nationalists, a spokesman for the Foreign Office side-stepped a direct answer and said: "Where is the Chinese Nationalist Government? Some of its members are in Shanghai, some in Canton. We have diplomatic officials in both cities...."

The spokesman said Sir Ralph Stevenson, the British Ambassador, and his staff remain in Nanking. So far, Stevenson has been unable to establish contact with any Chinese Communist official with whom he could negotiate. The spokesman said the British would make contact with Mao Tze-tung himself if they knew where he was. Asked whether establishment of friendly relations with the Chinese Communists would entitle them to send diplomatic representatives to Britain, the spokesman said: "That question has not arisen yet."

Following the announcement of the spokesman of the British Foreign Office, US State Department officials said April 29 that the United States expects to develop "working contacts" with Chinese Communist officials, but that this does not mean recognition or approval of the Red regime.

It is further revealed that Britain and the United States recently "exchanged views" on the advisability of retaining their consulates in Communist territory in China. They agreed that would be the proper course to follow.

Earlier, a spokesman for the State Department said that the United States plans to keep consular officials in Communist-occupied China indefinitely to look after American interests. He emphasized



this in no way constitutes recognition of the Chinese Communist regime, either directly or formally.

### Reds' Terms

A SPOKESMAN for the Communist People's Liberation Army, in a public statement broadcast over the Peiping Radio, said the Communists are willing to "consider the establishment of diplomatic relations with foreign countries," but the foreign powers would have to sever their relations with the Nationalist Government and withdraw their armed forces, warships and military aircraft from China. He said among other things:

"The Chinese People's revolutionary military committee and the peoples' government are willing to consider the establishment of diplomatic relations with foreign countries. These relations should be established on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for each other's independence and integrity of territorial sovereignty and, first of all, foreign countries must not aid Kuomintang reactionaries.

"The Chinese people's revolutionary military committee and the People's government will not accept any action of an intimidating nature from any foreign government. If foreign governments are willing to consider the establishment of diplomatic relations with us, they must sever their relations with remnant Kuomintang forces and withdraw their armed forces from China."



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### Press Censorship

AS part of the measures taken in the defense of Shanghai, news censorship has been re-instituted in this city by the local garrison headquarters.

The censorship rules apply to Chinese and foreign language daily papers, in full size or tabloid form, Chinese and foreign language news agency releases to outport or foreign countries, and cables and copy for magazine articles.

Articles, or stories of the following nature are banned:

1. Contrary to the principle of anti-Communism and the war of self-protection.
2. Detrimental to law and order, and the peace of the community.
3. Detrimental to the Government's orders.
4. Rumor mongering.
5. Propaganda beneficial to the Communists.
6. Detrimental to cooperation between the people and the military.

Times are rather hard for the newspapers these days. Several Chinese language newspapers have already suspended publication because of "financial difficulties," while those which carry on have reduced their number of pages. The *Tung Nan Jih Pao*, an outstanding KMT paper; the *Yi Shih Pao*, official organ of the Chinese Catholic Church; and the *Li Pao*, generally regarded as mouthpiece of the Shanghai General Labor Federation, are among those that have closed down. The *Chung Hua Shih Pao*, official organ of the Young China Party, has changed into an evening paper. Several mosquito papers also have been forced to close because of hard times. In several cases it was found that the management has fled to Hongkong while the staff managed to carry on the responsibility in order to make a living.

### Berlin Issue

THE current negotiations between the United States and Soviet Russia on the Berlin issue are reported to be progressing satisfactorily. The Russians have offered to lift their blockade against Berlin if the Western powers set a date for a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Well-informed sources said the Russians are expected shortly to lift the blockade. In the United States, the general feeling is that East and West are moving slowly toward an agreement to end the ten-month-old Berlin blockade and work out a solution for Germany as a whole.

Secretary of State Dean Acheson said the United States is ready to do its utmost to reach agreement with Russia on the future of Germany but will not bargain away basic principles. These principles include: 1) Security of the rest of Europe must be protected and 2) Western powers' effort to revive democracy and economic stability in Germany must be maintained.

However, improvement in American-Soviet relations is bound to raise difficulties for President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson because their foreign policy is based on an intensification of the conflict between the United States and Soviet Russia.

On this subject, an *Associated Press* story dated May 1 from Washington makes interesting reading:

"If negotiations for ending the Berlin crisis and resuming four power talks on Germany continue to go well, President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson will soon be faced with a tough new problem in foreign policy. The problem, as foreseen by diplomatic experts, will be how to maintain a firm—and costly—set of safeguards against expansion of Soviet power in the world during the period when the Soviets themselves may not give frequent and spectacular evidence of expansionist aims.... For two years US policy in the cold war has been in many respects a policy of crisis—a series of reactions to emergencies made in Moscow.... Many of the moves by the United States and other western nations in the cold war have been initiated and accorded popular support as a direct result of fears raised by some actions of Moscow or Moscow-controlled Communists in other countries. Now the western world may be facing a changed situation.... World tensions are easing off."

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# Chinese Magazine Roundup

## New China Magazine

THE conservative *New China Magazine* of April 16, 1949 takes the line that the plan of the United States to improve the "under-developed areas" is indicative of the strenuous efforts now being made by the United States Government in order to seek world hegemony.

According to the magazine, President Truman said in his inaugural address: "The United States is pre-eminent among nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques. The material resources which we can afford to put at the assistance of other peoples are limited. But our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible."

Therefore, Truman continued: "I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefit of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development. Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens."

In the magazine's view, the plan of developing the backward areas in the world has political as well as economic significance.

"So far as the political significance is concerned," the magazine points out, "President Truman told a press

conference that the plan was first formulated several years ago when the Marshall Plan and American aid to Greece and Turkey were being worked out. We believe Truman was telling the truth. The reason is quite simple. Although the global policy of the United States gives top priority to Europe, yet the thinly-populated vast territories of the under-developed areas are also very important. Professional army men and politicians in the United States have on repeated occasions raised much ballyhoo about this global policy of the United States. What interests us most is the question why the United States should have seriously made public this plan, although it was drafted several years ago.

"The global policy of the United States, as formulated by President Truman, is based on the hostility and struggle between capitalism and Communism and on the theory that the United States should assume the leadership of the anti-Communist crusade all over the world. Under this policy, the proposed development of the backward areas, the strengthening of the United Nations, the implementation of the Marshall Plan and the concluding of alliances for joint defense are all of them important weapons for fighting Communism."

Summing up the political significance of Truman's plan of improving the under-developed areas, the magazine writes:

"The political significance of Truman's plan is very clear. This significance is all the more remarkable at the present time when the

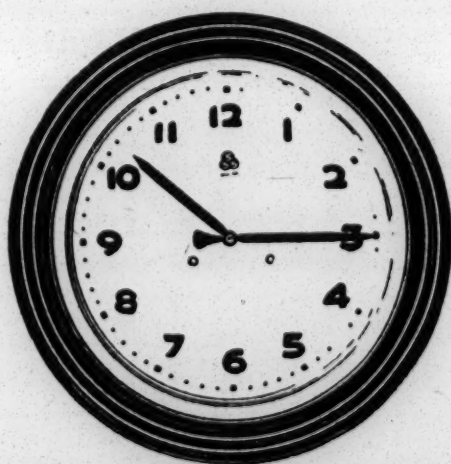
attempts to crush with armed force the revolutionary movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries have failed miserably."

Turning to the economic significance of the plan, the magazine has the following to say:

"As has already been mentioned in the above, President Truman's plan of improving the under-developed areas constitutes a vital link in the chain of United States hegemony over the world. It need hardly be said that the basic purpose of the plan is to maintain prosperity in the United States and retard the outbreak of economic depression in the United States.... In the course of the Second World War, production in the United States increased by leaps and bounds. This throws credit upon American science, American technical skill and organizing ability of the American people. As a matter of fact, this remarkable success has written a glorious page in the history of economic development of the human race. But on the other hand, this tremendous expansion of production on the basis of profit-making was not intended to serve the American people. As a result, some kind of crisis has come in the wake. How to find markets and outlets for surplus capital and surplus commodities in the United States has become an issue of vital concern to the United States. This is the reason why American Government officials are attaching the greatest importance and attention to foreign markets. The day after he made his inauguration address, President Truman invited a group of Senators from Missouri for dinner to discuss his economic plan. He told his guests that if the purchasing power of the peoples in Asia could be raised by one or two percent the United States would have prosperity for another one hundred years. This remark is very useful in bringing to light the motives behind the President's plan of improving the under-developed areas."

In conclusion, the magazine points out that the prospects for Truman's plan are anything but bright:

"The revolutionary movements in the backward countries in the world are aimed at achieving political and economic liberation. Political liberation consists in overthrowing the feudalistic - imperialistic domination and in establishing a people's democratic government in its place. Economic liberation means industrialization and uprooting of imperialistic influences. Combination of democratic revolution and industrial revolution constitutes the outstanding characteristic of the revolutionary movements in the colonial countries after the Second World War. Such being the case, it is highly doubtful whether Truman's plan will work at all...."



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# US Magazine Roundup

## New Republic

AN article by J.P. Brinton III in the March 19 issue of the *New Republic* reports that the cold war is still going on in Korea, despite the withdrawal of US and Soviet troops.

The article, entitled "Small Korea Is A Big Test," says: "South of the 38th parallel, several hundred US State Department and Army advisers have stayed behind to help the anti-Communist Daihan Republic, and to train its 50,000 Korean soldiers. In the former Soviet zone, north Korean Communists have founded an equally formidable army and a People's Republic that claims jurisdiction over the entire country."

"Aside from the threat of warfare between north and south, Koreans are disturbed by the persistence of underground violence in the southern half. Constantly, since Korea's liberation from Japanese rule, Communist agents have led discontented southerners in attacks on the police, student strikes, hand-bill protests, labor walkouts, riots, sabotage and guerilla war."

Brinton reports that there have also been disputes within Syngman Rhee's administration, and that this has worried Rhee's American supporters.

"In inaugurating the present Korean policy, even though it contradicted their attitude toward neighboring China," he says, "they hoped southerners would form a strong coalition government led by a moderate leader. As carried out last May, popular elections frustrated any such possibility. First, the three pro-Communist parties, driven underground by police in 1947, announced that it would be impossible for them to campaign. One by one, six other major parties of Left, Right and Center joined the boycott, protesting that separate southern elections would permanently divide their 4,000-year-old nation."

"By default, the two pro-Rhee parties took over the election that followed. To make sure that few voters joined the abstainees, they organized local block-association (ward) officials, youth-group members and policemen in a door-to-door campaign advising citizens to register. This advice, coming from the same men who distribute the rice ration, produced on election day a remarkable turnout of 75 percent of the electorate."

Although there were attempts to form a united opposition to the new government and plans were laid to hold nationwide election after the withdrawal of foreign troops, Brinton continues, these plans fell through when the north Koreans decided to hold their own elections.

"Kimm Kui Sic and Ahn Chai Hong, the top-ranking Koreans in AMG," he says, "abruptly announced

their retirement to private life. Old Kim Koo, denouncing Rhee and the Communists alike, suddenly found himself practically without party support. Socialist spokesman Lyuh Woon Hong, twice imprisoned and released, emerged to find his organization also disintegrating."

"Specifically the disaffected southern politicians complain about the Rhee administration, which they call a strange representation of feudal landlords, police bureaucrats, agents for Korean emigrants to California and Hawaii, youth-group militarists, Westernized educators and wealthy businessmen. According to the critics, the majority of these are Koreans who fear the loss of benefits they gained while 'tolerating' 40 years of Japanese conquest. If not 'wholly pro-Japanese,' they are considered supporters of the status quo, incapable of giving Korea the needed national unity and reform."

"The current dissension in Korea mirrors this. In place of a cold war, vast numbers of Koreans have appealed for:

"National affirmation, through abolition of the 38th Parallel barrier and removal of foreign officials."

"Complete land reform to help the

50 percent of the southern peasantry that owns no property."

"Industrial expansion toward Western standard of living."

"State assistance to youth, in the form of scholarships and unemployment."

"Loosening of traditions that confine Korean women to their homes."

"Final elimination of Korean leaders who associated with the Japanese."

"Freedom from fear of the police with their Japanese techniques for suppressing newspapers, jailing political opponents and browbeating ordinary citizens."

"North Korean Communists, who have adopted strong measures to fulfill the first six of these demands," Brinton concludes, "can command strong sympathy in south Korea as long as reform there fails to emerge from the planning stage. The police-state aspects of Communism inspire little fear among southern reformers, who are themselves pursued by police. After three years of foreign Military Government and division, they want for their half of the country a settlement more permanent than America's \$100 million-a-year subsidy, or the United Nations' moral support."

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# What Chinese Papers Say

IN commenting on the defense of Shanghai, most of the Chinese papers stressed that the government authorities should give top priority to stabilizing the local conditions and bringing order out of the present economic chaos.

## Financial Confusion

THE *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, official organ of the Kuomintang, deplored the prevailing financial confusion and said it would affect public sentiment.

"In the financial market, for instance, there have been various irrational developments, such as the refusal of the public to accept the cash orders issued by the various banks. Some shops even refused to accept gold yuan notes and would only sell in silver coins. All these incidents have been caused by the unhealthy mentality of the public during war-time," the paper said.

The *Ta Kung Pao* suggested two concrete measures for straightening out the financial tangle:

"In the present circumstances, the first need is the stabilization of the minds of the people. This in turn must be sought in the stabilization of the financial situation. Financial stability, at the moment, means the maintenance of normal conditions

and the prevention of future confusion.

"The first issue to be settled in this connection is the scarcity of currency notes. The people are already living a life of great hardship. With much difficulty they have acquired some money, and when the cash orders, in which form their money comes, are being subjected to discounts in the market, what they obtain becomes of less value. People who originally think that they have enough funds to tide over a few days, for instance, find that their plans are completely upset, and of course they will feel anxious about the situation. For this reason, it is necessary for the Central Bank to adopt immediate measures for an adequate supply of currency notes....

"The second issue demanding prompt attention is the granting of working capital to industry and trade and the mapping out of plans by business and financial establishments to cope with the exigencies of the situation. At present, most of the financial institutions adopt a do-nothing attitude. Many industrial and commercial enterprises must have funds to tide over the present crisis but no one has undertaken the responsibility for giving financial aid to them. This situation cannot be allowed to go on for any length of time...."

## More Suggestions

THE *Tung Nan Jih Pao* made more recommendations for stabilizing the conditions in Shanghai:

"The first need is the conservation of material supplies. To accomplish the mission of the defense of Greater Shanghai, it is necessary that abundant supplies be at hand at the critical moment. And only with the possession of adequate supplies of material resources will the living of the people be safeguarded, and the public have ease of mind. Accordingly, supplies at present stored within the city limits must be prevented from being taken out, concealed, or destroyed. As vital daily necessities like vegetables, fuel, and rice, all come from the suburbs, the military authorities should provide facilities to peddlers and dealers travelling between the city and the suburbs so that the supply of food for the city may not be disrupted.

"The next need is the maintenance of orderly traffic. The city is already congested in normal times. At present, there are many times the usual number of vehicles as well as pedestrians on the streets. The competent authorities must exercise rigid traffic control. Villagers who bring luggage into the city are doing so out of their irrepressible will of existence, and troops stationed in the suburbs must not stop their vehicles and take harsh action while inspecting the personal effects of these people.

"There is the third need for the dispersion of the population. It is of course a necessary measure for the defense of the city to disperse non-essential members of the population and evacuate them to the rural areas so as to reduce the burden imposed on the city as well as to facilitate the maintenance of order and security. But, if such measures are to be effective, there must be close cooperation by the military authorities in the rural areas. At present, the flames of war have not yet spread to the outer perimeters of Shanghai, but residents in the suburban areas have already felt it difficult to continue living there and are rushing into the city, and it is not difficult for the people living in the city to understand the reasons which prompted them into such action. In the circumstances, it would be very difficult to persuade people now living in the city to move to the rural areas. The proper way to improve this situation is the removal of the causes which made the rural population unable to live in peace even before the approach of the war, and thereby reduce the number of villagers moving into the city. This is the basic need. And only under such a condition can the decentralization of the city's population be carried out with success."

## Shanghai's American Daily-- more than "just a newspaper"

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# What US Papers Say

FOR the second successive week China received the lion's share of foreign coverage in the American press. Most papers were gloomy over the Nationalist future and devoted considerable thought to America's present and future role in China.

## Very Late

THE *Christian Science Monitor* reviewed the opinions held by American military men who had been in China and saw the common people of China as a block against Soviet influence in the country. The editorial read:

"The guns are sounding off along the Yangtze. A civil war which even American military men have estimated as 65 percent political and only 35 percent military shifts back to the fighting phase and for millions of Chinese this is one more futile move in a painful and tragic game they little understand. For a watching world—perhaps even for a Russia which might prefer not to have the Chinese Communists achieve too spectacular a success by their own efforts—it is a sign that these same Chinese Communists are very tough customers indeed.

"American military men have held they would sooner or later cross the Yangtze—at either light or heavy cost, depending on the willingness of the Nationalist troops, including the Air Force, to put up real resistance. Whether they will stop short of a sweeping victory in South China may depend, more than all else, on the morale of the remaining Nationalist troops.

"Americans will inevitably ask whether more arms for the Nationalist cause would have kept events from coming to this grievous pass. It is highly doubtful. General Barr, head of the military mission in Nanking, is said to have told the Senate that the Nationalists had allowed 90 percent of American material to get into the Communists' hands.

"General Wedemeyer has pointed out that the crushing of Communism demanded a combination of armies and ideas. So far, the Nationalists have lacked ideas to give spirit to their cause. Their defense is symbolized by a ten-foot wooden fence recently erected around Shanghai for its 'protection'—at what is reported to be considerable financial profit to local commanders who gave contracts.

"If it is ever permissible to speak of the 'little people' of a country, China offers an excuse for using that term. And it is those five hundred million patient suffering people who will determine the final outcome of this phase of Chinese history more than the desperately maneuvering cliques which give orders for big guns to bark. Chinese leaders will be able to rally these people in a

last-ditch stand against Communism only by demonstrably greater devotion to their welfare than they have yet shown.

"It is very late to talk in such terms. Yet since long-term American policy demands that Chinese people shall be convinced of American friendship, it must aim—however little it can do right now—at finding out and supporting those forces—and only those forces—which can gather sufficient popular support to act as a counter balance to Soviet influence."

## Europe First

RANDOM editorial opinion discussed American Policy in terms of Europe and the Far East.

The Tampa (Florida) *Tribune* advised putting Europe first, saying: "The whole world hopes for the day when our economic strength can be applied to the job of industrializing China and to the rehabilitation of her people. Meantime, we should not take on anything that may handicap our effort in Europe, which is making progress. Unless we decide that we can, and are willing to conduct a two-front cold (and hot) war, we had better throw our strength into a battle that is going our way."

The *New York Times* likewise de-

clared: "Many reasons, some good and some specious, have been assigned for our policy, or lack of policy, in respect to the Far East in general and China in particular. The very important reason is seldom mentioned. As a people, and as a government representing that people, we are essentially Europe-minded, not Far East-minded. That is quite natural, fully understandable. The vast bulk of our population is European in origin. . . .

"Thus in time of stress and strife, it is only natural that our first concern go out to that part of the world that seems close to us. . . ."

The *Washington News*, however, called for a review of American policy in China, saying: "If the Truman Administration has nothing to conceal about its part in the Chinese situation, it can prove its good faith by agreeing to Senator Knowland's resolution asking for a full-dress Congressional review of our China policy.

"The United States has a vital interest in a free and independent China. If China goes behind the iron curtain, communism will stand on the borders of India, Burma and Indo-China. Japan will be cut off from the Asiatic mainland. Anything we can do to save this situation should be done."

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# The Review's English Lesson—LXXXI

## Acceptable Usage

AN article in the March issue of *Harper's Magazine*, entitled "How Correct Must Correct English Be?" illustrates the conflict between English as the grammarians see it and English as it is actually used. The author sent a list of 19 sentences to 750 people, asking if the sentences, containing controversial grammatical expressions, were acceptable in everyday speech. Of the number asked, 468 replied, among them high-school and college teachers of English, authors, editors, journalists, radio commentators, lexicographers, and subscribers to *Harper's Magazine*.

We shall give the sentences first (owing to lack of space, part will be discussed next week,) as our readers might like to see how their opinions compare with those who replied to the original questionnaire. The controversial expressions are in bold face type, and the question was simply whether or not the persons queried considered them "acceptable English."

\* \* \*

1. His attitude makes me **mad**. (Mad as a synonym for **angry**.)
2. I will pay your bill if you accept my check.
3. The reason I'm worried is **because** I think she's ill.
4. His work is different **than** mine.
5. We had a **nice** time at the party.
6. **Can** I have another helping of dessert, please?
7. I encountered **less** difficulties than I had expected.
8. Everyone put on **their** coats and went home.
9. How much money have you **got**?

\* \* \*

THE most liberal group (i.e., which found most of the expressions acceptable for everyday use) were the college professors of English; the next in order were the lexicographers (editors of dictionaries), authors, editors, radio columnists, high school teachers of English, and subscribers to *Harper's*, newspaper writers; the most strict (finding most of the expressions unacceptable) were editors of women's magazines.

The acceptance for each expression is given below, as a percentage of acceptance among the whole group of respondents, together with some comments from the original article and some of our own:

1. Acceptable English—75%. The difficulty here lies in the possible ambiguity of **mad**, which originally meant crazy, out of one's mind, and which has also come to mean angry. The 75% acceptance of this usage indicates that it is now quite common.

2. Established English—90%. The author points out that the strict distinction between **shall** and **will** found little favor among those questioned. We might add that in colloquial speech, both "I shall" and "I will" are usually shortened to "I'll", so the distinction is not made. In writing, it is presumed that the distinction remains good usage, with "I shall" expressing simple declaration, and "I will" expressing determination.

3. Controversial English — 48%. Strict grammatical usage requires **that** rather than **because**. One respondent believed that a sentence should be judged by the sound; he objected

to "is because" as awkward. This criterion, of course, is not very helpful to foreign students of English, since it can only be applied by one who has a lifelong acquaintance with good English.

4. Rejected—31%. The correct expression is "different **from**." If this vote is compared with that on sentence number 2, the illogicality of attempting to enforce strict grammatical rules is apparent. Both usages are equally incorrect grammatically; yet one finds almost complete acceptance, while the other is overwhelmingly rejected.

5. Established English—88%. **Nice** is used here as a synonym for **agreeable** or **pleasant**, and as such is so overworked in ordinary usage as to have lost most of its meaning. Originally, the word meant foolish, silly; then it came to mean fastidious, finicky, refined, discriminating; and now it means pleasant, agreeable.

6. Controversial—40% acceptance. **May** is the correct way to ask permission, and this low score seems to show that it is still favored. This might be another case of preference being based upon sound; to us, **may** has a pleasanter sound than **can**.

7. Rejected — acceptance only 23%. This use of **less** with a plural noun appears to be thrown out emphatically. The correct word is of course **fewer**. To us, this seems an amazing grammatical lapse, and the author's statement that this usage is "frequent" on educated levels of speech and in the writing of educated authors is surprising indeed.

8. Controversial—acceptance 45%. Grammatically, **everyone**, **everybody** and other similar pronouns are held to be "singular", although, as the author points out, logically they have a strong plural meaning. He shows the absurdity of carrying this to its illogical extreme in such sentences as, "Since everyone in the room spoke Spanish, I addressed **him** in that language", and "As soon as **everyone** was finished with the examination, we started collecting **his** paper." He goes on to say that "only a die-hard purist would avoid **them** or **their** in such constructions," but we would suggest instead that such constructions be avoided; the second sentence, for example, could be restated, "As soon as all (the students) were finished with the examination, we started collecting **their** papers." Thus a tilt with the grammarians' windmills can be avoided.

9. Acceptable English — 65%. One respondent said that he thought this was more emphatic than "How much money have you?" Using the criterion of sound, we are inclined to think that "have....got" might better be avoided, although the expression is certainly as frequently used as the 65% acceptance indicates.





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